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Privatisation reforms and health work in schools: the end of the beginning

Abstract

This discursive paper selectively reviews the empirical papers informing the major part of the special issue. In doing so it focuses particularly on issues which are apparent across many papers. One major point of contrast is the advanced state of marketization in schools situated at the lower socioeconomic margins. This is relative to those schools in more socially advantaged areas where a more selective and rather insular and individual approach to privatisation engagement was noted. Bisecting this encroaching viz. cosy continuum was further unease about the construction of curriculum arrangements and the precise position teachers' level of expertise held within these provisions. While applauding the insightful advances in understanding the empirical papers in the special issue have yielded, the paper concludes by arguing for a more expansive and wider engagement with social and economic theory if health work in schools is to progress further and reach beyond its current end of the beginning stage of development.

Introduction

The special issue is timely as it has become increasingly apparent over recent years that privatised reforms in education have sought to influence health-related work in schools. In one of the few other special journal issues in this area '*Neoliberalism, Privatisation and the Future of Physical Education*' in *Sport, Education and Society*, an advance guard of academics including among others Evans and Davies (2015) and Williams and Macdonald (2015) explained the complexities to hand, as well as prophesying difficult times ahead based on the expectancy that greater privatisation may lead to widening inequalities with fewer opportunities being available to support students from poorer backgrounds. Gard (2015) who provided a discussant-based overview of the special issue responded imaginatively to the sense of impending apprehension by stepping out to left field and contrasting his pre boarding experiences at Auckland International Airport before and after privatisation. The contrast of Spartan pre privatisation viz. the more spruced up customer relaxation and retail experience available post privatisation led Gard (2015) to consider that on balance he preferred the choices available under the privatised reforms. That said this was far from an unalloyed endorsement for privatisation; the targeted and odious sales techniques based on their illusory knowledge claims being a particular source of unease. However, the airport cameo helped signpost many of the multiple and variegated types of concerns and points of interest which orbit around privatisation in health education debates e.g. of how power is exercised, of how ideas take hold, as well as consideration of the professional implications for teachers and academics alike.

Based around complexities and concerns similar to those highlighted above, in July 2018 many of the authors in the special issue presented initial findings at a symposium titled, '*Beyond policy: Disrupting the power of policy and knowledge production*' as part of the Association Internationale des Écoles Supérieures d'Éducation Physique (AIESEP) World Congress in Edinburgh. I was delighted to attend the symposium, just as I am pleased now to provide a concluding discussant-based contribution on the thought provoking and insightful set of papers presented. The papers in the special issue arise from the multisite data set accompanying the research project; research which utilised network methodology and subsequent case studies to help explain issues of identify, power and the capacity of resources to influence change within various state and private school interventions. My aim is to engage with the papers individually and collectively, but before embarking on this enterprise I wish to acknowledge what that team of researchers from The University of Queensland alongside international partners in the United Kingdom and Ireland have most obviously achieved; namely to have moved discussions on from

raising critical concerns to being able to raise critical concerns in relation to a robust data set of empirical findings. In the field of health work in schools this is new, welcome and significant as it enables more accurate futures-related predication to be considered. When during the mid-point of World War II on 10 November, 1942, Winston Churchill spoke at The Lord Mayor's Luncheon, Mansion House, London on how strategic gains were at last improving British military prospects, he stated that: 'Now this is not the end. It is not even the beginning of the end but it is, perhaps, the end of the beginning.' Given the contribution of this special issue alongside other related investigations, see for example, Sperka and Enright (2019a), it is now possible to argue that the strategic benefits of understanding in more dappled and detailed terms the impact of privatisation reforms on health work in schools has reached a similar evidence-based 'end of the beginning' stage.

Privatisation reforms and health work in schools

It is widely acknowledged that education should contribute to more than productivity outputs e.g. achievement levels in school subjects being measured against future levels of economic growth (Hermansson, 2016). Thereafter, a further concern becomes one of disentangling socioeconomic causes which education in schools cannot easily address e.g. low levels of income and chronic social deprivation, from those areas where it is possible for education and health-related work to make a difference e.g. in terms of positively promoting health, happiness, longevity and sociability. To facilitate this contribution to wider public goods, schools have to various extents and in varying ways opened their doors to enable private, public and voluntary stakeholders to work in partnership with them. To what extent these partnership interventions have played a constructive part in contributing to reducing childhood/adolescent obesity and improving students' mental health is the central focus of this special issue.

Enright, Hogan and Rossi began their investigations of the philanthropic intentions of McDonald's (Macca's in Australia) by analysing their partnership with one larger than average size secondary school (n=1122 viz. 1000) in Queensland. Apparent from the outset is the advanced state of the marketization of education in Australia with schools encouraged to fundraise and become available for philanthropic support. The profile of the case study school (Devon Secondary School) was that over half of students (54%) were from the bottom quarter of socio-economic advantage, a quarter of students (25%) were from single parent families and that just over a fifth of families were welfare dependent (22%). Yet, in spite of this profile, on average each of the parent/families paid \$491 per child to support curriculum and wider school activities. Against this backdrop, Windle (2017) notes that disadvantaged schools in Australia have been forced to adopt the same competitive logic that socially advantaged and better-resourced schools utilise in order to increase school funding and limit parental contributions. Windle (2017) argues that this is a reluctant arrangement, which is underpinned by the need to survive in a hostile environment and to participate with initiatives designed to enhance the image and profile of the school in the local community. Thus, the burden of marketization is borne by schools situated at the socioeconomic margins i.e. those which are excluded from many of the benefits of privatisation but nevertheless condemned to conform to its principles and values. Enright, Hogan and Rossi recognise such concerns and that McDonald's would be shunned as a partner by many schools that benefit from more fortunate financial circumstances. Thus, hard economics emerges as a major driver of school-business interaction and the authors are careful not to belittle the Devon Secondary School community for engaging in this business.

However, even though it is quite easy to appreciate why the school Principal might wish to build an exclusive partnership with McDonald's, I read many of their comments with a heavy heart. The network ethnography approach deployed by the authors covers the Principal's Newsletter,

where in one contribution they state among other points that: 'Please remember the Macca's rule. Turn up on time, in uniform and ready to do whatever your supervisor tells you to do ... Understand your order, and don't deliver a cheeseburger without cheese.' In terms of being healthy in education in its broadest sense surely this type of commentary is of concern: what about the emancipatory benefits of education; of flourishing; of enhancing critical thinking and pursuing new interests? Thus, while my own unease with the inelegance of the Principal's Newsletter contribution would probably fade away if faced with their dilemmas, where the need to network in new market-led partnerships in order to sustain school life overrides most other concerns, I still cling to the view that teachers and professional leaders in education should review carefully the language they use when describing new partnership arrangements. However, as regulation of partners appears to be particularly light touch in Australia, perhaps what Enright, Hogan and Rossi found was evidence of the pernicious effects of privatisation, where the Principal in a school situated at the socioeconomic margins considers that they have few other viable options in trying to enhance the profile of their school other than to align themselves as closely as possible with the mantras and values of their commercial partners.

Conceivably the creeping effect of privatisation forces many professionals in education to work out where their lines of acceptability/unacceptability are drawn, and what happens when these arbitrarily fixed lines are crossed. One teacher interviewed as part of the data collection process described McDonald's initial sponsorship of the sports team as 'all low hanging fruit, really. Not ideal in some ways, but life's a compromise, and they're (not) sponsoring ... the core academic business of the school.' I would certainly give a penny for their thoughts as the more extended elevation of McDonald's corporate link with Devon Secondary School took hold as it has progressed from sponsoring sports teams to sponsoring school-based apprenticeships, positive behaviour programmes, and to eventually creating and sharing common values. Does the teacher concerned still believe that the fundamental business of the school is sufficiently protected, and to what extent more widely are such questions likely to be dependent on teachers' age, the type of school they now teach in, their own education, their professional remit and their subject contribution? Enright, Hogan and Rossi raise their concerns in the most measured terms, yet hanging over their paper is the sense of an ever more localized approach to philanthropy; one where the school policy agenda is becoming ever more defined by the yellow arches that dominate the visible culture of the school.

That said as many authors in the special issue note, it can now no longer simply be the case that concerns over privatisation and school values in relation to health work in schools are more problematic than state led attempts to make the same types of connections and improvements. In Scotland, where the Scottish Government (2016a, p.1) remains committed to comprehensive schooling as 'evidence shows that co-operation and collaboration, not competition or marketisation drives improvement', health and wellbeing sits alongside literacy and numeracy as one of three cross-curriculum responsibilities of all teachers. This heightened curriculum emphasis signals an increased concern of policy stakeholders with social justice, equity and the emotional wellbeing of young people. These intentions reflect Scottish aspirations to replicate a Scandinavian-type model of public policy, where there is an on-going commitment to all students. However, in practice, the quality of integrated learning, teaching and assessment has proved variable with school engagement often being delayed until more policy certainty and support materials are provided (Thorburn & Dey, 2017). Such delays have often made it difficult to assist teachers in adopting a more holistic view of health and wellbeing amidst ongoing concerns over lack of expertise and confidence in knowing how to make connections across learning e.g., in terms of enhancing students' self-esteem, social interaction and engagement in learning conversations. This has often led to schools continuing with 'health weeks' even though

these annual interventions have been widely criticized by policy stakeholders for their superficiality. Thorburn and Dey (2017) conclude that the current practice arrangements reflect only a partial engagement with the therapeutic culture ambitions Scotland aspires towards and as such there is currently a rather awkward merging of a traditional subject-based curriculum with newly framed generic curriculum imperatives and advised contexts for learning.

The Scottish context was used as the backdrop for Kirk's study which examined relations between two schools and an organisation promoting mindfulness. What follows is a vivid portrait of a sincere but rather bespoke and precious collaboration. By Kirk's own acknowledgement this is all a long way from the exploitative subtexts of education for sale which exists elsewhere. Furthermore, as earlier highlighted the Scottish school context is markedly difficult from other Anglophone countries, as whatever changes are ahead are highly likely to take place under existing comprehensive schooling structures. The commitment to comprehensive provision is 'a reflection of democracy and communal solidarity and demonstration that opportunities to succeed should be available to all learners' (Bryce & Humes, 2013, p. 51). Such commitments are most evident in the endeavour to achieve greater equity in education through closing the attainment gap for those students disadvantaged by the effects of poverty and by plans to devolve greater school management to head teachers (Scottish Government, 2016b). Scotland, therefore, remains committed to a universal system of free comprehensive secondary schooling for around 95% of students (Smith, 2013). Thus, the two school sample of one private (fee-paying) school and one public (state) primary school with small numbers of children from areas of multiple deprivations in Kirk's study is atypical. Consequently, while the paper stands as a vivid example of fidelity and control, as evident by the two primary schools management teams having a greater degree of autonomy for prioritising particular health and wellbeing issues such as mindfulness, it is very difficult to see how the scale of the intervention could become a greater part of Scottish school life. For not only would lack of funding end many schools interest in the initiative, there is something even more peculiar to note; namely that the organisation concerned in providing mindfulness - the Mindfulness in Schools Project (MiSP) - through its control over sharing resources, its exacting partnerships arrangements and lack of advertising and self-promotion, effectively cuts off the possibility for further expansion which might otherwise exist. Moreover, noting that MiSP employs ex teachers who the teachers' interviewed in the study considered they could trust and relate well with only add to the niche and rather cosy (hassle free) dimensions of the initiative. Accordingly, while Kirk's paper stresses the faithfulness of the intervention in its enactment it also highlights its rather 'locked down' restrictive nature due to the cosiness of the rather closed shop and atypical arrangements which support it. Kirk concludes that future external providers may well need to take a more deft approach to fidelity and control if they are to sustain their influence over time. What can be noted from the empirical studies in Australia and Scotland thus far is that contrasting interpretations of engaging with privatisation reforms can still lead to the same types of outcome i.e. of teachers being strategically boxed-in with declining opportunities for imagination and influence, and with concerns existing over school values, curriculum knowledge and teachers level of expertise.

Cosiness is very much part of the fabric of the Bowles and O'Sullivan's review of the Gaelic Athletic Association's (GAA) involvement as an external provider of Gaelic games in primary schools in Ireland as well. The GAA's involvement reaches back over at least the last century and in many ways predates the organised provision of physical education. Currently over 90% of primary schools in Ireland make use of the external support provided by GAA coaches. There are many interesting dimensions to this investigation including reviewing the structural cosiness which exists with many teachers believing that the GAA's teaching of Gaelic games is part of core and extracurricular physical education and benefits the development of students sporting and

cultural identity. As such, many teachers are only too pleased to continue to provide access for the GAA and pave the way for coaches to access the school system. Arguably, it may be that Bowles and O'Sullivan offer a rather generous appraisal of the benefits of GAA's involvement in schools e.g. through their invoking of teacher as 'boundary spanner' who has the knowledge and competencies necessary to create and sustain networks. It might reasonably be asked what precise knowledge and competencies does it take for a generalist primary class teacher to organise the GAA to visit their school year on year? And of even greater concern is what exactly do the teachers do when the GAA are coaching their class? There is valuable discussion in the paper of coaches replacing rather than assisting teachers. Might it be the case that generalist primary class teachers talk enthusiastically about the partnership benefits between schools and the GAA in part because they lack the expertise to teach Gaelic games and are therefore only too pleased to pass over responsibility to the GAA? If so, this position appears to place teachers in a precarious professional position as they expect to continue to benefit from the full status and terms and conditions of teaching employment at the same time as needing invited partners to deliver what in an Irish context is often considered part of core physical education time. Thus, relative to the concerns described so far of teachers potentially being pedagogically boxed-in by privatisation reforms with fewer spaces for ingenuity and openings to seek out new curriculum opportunities, what emerges from the Irish context is a need to further consider the consequences of being boxed-in by a settled history which has possibly toppled over into stasis.

Moreover, every bit as important as the GAA professionalism matters discussed thus far is consideration of what messages privatisation-driven reforms send to students. Sperka & Enright (2019b) recently reviewed Year 8 students views of a 'Cardio Tennis' unit of Tennis Australia's Tennis in Secondary Schools Programme. They found in one independent, co-educational school that students were critical and rather sceptical about the educational value of their experiences. Sperka & Enright (2019b) consider that secondary health and physical education teachers are best placed in their intermediate role to make connections between students experiences of the 'Cardio Tennis' unit and the ambitions of the school health and physical education programme and wider school goals. However, we appear to know little as yet about what Irish primary school pupils think about the links between their school and the GAA, and of whether a more active intermediate role by class teachers' would help them to make more substantive educational connections between the various Gaelic games they experience and the goals of physical education. More widely, at a time when national identities are being influenced by shifts in population from rural to urban living and where past traditions are being overtaken by more cosmopolitan lifestyles, more robust teacher evaluations of the GAA programmes might cast a sharper light on whether the continuation of the partnership benefits or stifles the development of a broader and more holistic view of contemporary physical education?

Enright and Kirk's paper centres on four empirical case studies of neoliberalism at work. Specifically the authors investigate how expertise is constituted and understood when health related initiatives are outsourced. Framing their research context are the blurred boundaries which encircle concerns about what counts as knowledge and expertise in schools and more specifically of how neoliberal policy regimes produce their own knowledge base and forms of expertise that privilege neoliberal governance. Data was collected from 'The Positive Psychology Institute (PPI)' and 'The Stephanie Alexander Kitchen Garden Program (SAKG)' in Australia, and the 'Youth Sport Trust' (YST) and MiSP in the United Kingdom. One of the examples (the PPI) repeats an earlier concern of an atypical private school having the capacity to pay 'an extraordinary amount of money' to recruit the expertise considered necessary to support a positive psychology initiative intended to benefit school culture. The money/expertise axis is laid bare, and under this version of future reality, academics who can enhance their media profile

might also be able to increase their public engagement contribution through providing a form of tailored ‘of the peg’ support that neoliberal universities will be only too pleased to support – for a price of course.

More widely the authors provide further insights into how SAKG has come through celebrity status and success to displace the kinds of expertise which until recently informed curriculum construction. In this example, a vague and insufficiently theorized commitment to experiential learning trumps concerns over the role of knowledge in curriculum. The authors in this illuminating paper support the view that conventional and overly simplistic understandings of expertise are very quickly becoming outdated. The paper ends with an initial probing into whether pre privatised or privatised networks are best equipped to support health and physical education developments. Troubled as I am about issues associated with advantage/disadvantage in education, the role of state financed schools to support their commitments to health related curriculum in the future certainly appears open to considerable doubt. In the past seconded teachers have often taken on curriculum development roles and used their presumed expertise to produce support materials and provide professional development. However, this seems destined to possibly become a problematic method of support, not least as seconded teachers need to satisfy two distinct audiences i.e. those of the policy community at wider state and national level, who may well have an expansive change agenda driven by the need to speed up curriculum reform, and practising teachers at a more local level who may be anticipating that one of their own fellow teachers can provide the materials and support immediately required. At a practical level it is also easy to see why when budgets are tight, one of the simplest cost cutting measures to take is to stop paying a teachers’ salary to a seconded teacher who is not teaching. That said investing in this form of support does provide a greater degree of narrative control over curriculum content and knowledge definition than may be available under more privatised arrangements. Moreover, what happens when the curriculum area or focus is unappealing to private sources but still considered worthwhile in terms of curriculum coverage? Who funds the expertise gap on these occasions? These are demanding issues for health work in schools to consider, especially if as Enright and Kirk highlight, external experts are now often seen as offering schools a market advantage which matters more than the contributions to knowledge which teachers can provide.

Associated with market advantage, McCuaig and Woolcock in their paper discuss the tensions between financial gain and moral zeal that private providers need to grapple with as part of their engagement in the education business. In seeking to understand profit viz. prophet tensions, the authors draw on the theoretical tools offered by Foucault to interrogate the rationales which three case study external providers adopt in their attempts to respond to the social and moral needs of students, teachers and school communities. Following data collection, a major finding was that poor parenting was widespread and that providing care support for children and young people is an urgent need. Thus, the outsourcing of caring responsibilities in education coupled with the enthusiasm of providers to serve as a form of auxiliary support to limit the adverse effects of poor parenting creates a new and often complex and messy context between stakeholders, and one which challenges existing partnership arrangements between schools and community services. Moreover, McCuaig and Woolcock’s study highlights that what is defined and understood by outsourcing is relatively fluid and profit dependent in the edu-market. In this light, McCuaig and Woolcock are keen to see more robust conceptual and empirical studies take place in order to provide greater insight into the benefits and/or professional concerns over the proliferation of pastoral agents acting in school communities. Their concern is that as far as health and wellbeing is concerned is that an increasing diversity of pastoral agents operating in school settings may lead to policy slippage. In gaining further acumens into the nature of

outsourcing, Sperka's paper is very helpful as it seeks to (re)define outsourcing in education through constructing a contextualised definition of the practice. Sperka argues that this is necessary as the practice of outsourcing is likely to continue, and that without appropriate and sufficient boundary definition and associated parameters of understanding, it will continue to grow in ways which become ever more complex to fathom.

Rossi and Kirk in their paper, note as well the shifting parameters and circumstances of outsourcing. They do so through trying to gain a greater understanding of the nature of school knowledge and of what is happening particularly to subject knowledge. Underpinning their paper (in ways even more by detailed than those in other papers) is the theoretical work of Basil Bernstein. What follows is an analysis of the structuring of pedagogic discourse in relation to the SAKG initiative; an initiative which attracts newer forms of financial support than just state/federal funding and which aims to emphasise the pleasure enhancing potential of growing food and eating well. Rossi and Kirk found that it was the newer forms of stakeholder support (the Foundation) that transformed the innovative pedagogical ideas associated with SAKG and which helped shift the focus from tackling obesity (a health intervention) to a more hedonic based garden-to-plate initiative. Thus, popular as it may well be, SAKG stands as an example of policy slippage with, in effect, the pleasure enhancing potential of growing food and eating well becoming the new norm. Rossi and Kirk highlight however that there is nothing particularly wicked about this state of affairs. Rather it is more about those associated with SAKG (whether they be teachers, support workers or volunteers) being generally well disposed towards the aims of the programme and relatively on board as far as the new network governance arrangements are concerned. In this respect, various quotes and elaborations from the teachers, support workers and volunteers describing their role yield some rich insights. That said, while there is much to recommend SAKG, Rossi and Kirk remain concerned that the original intentions towards addressing global health discourses are now less evident in practice. What has replaced this ambition is a narrowing of focus and a more constrained view of curriculum integration as the material being taken forward by the SAKG scheme has become ever more closely tied to the learning intentions of the recast Australian curriculum. Over time, SAKG might become a further example of policy and practice narrowing and where teachers' professional contribution to curriculum design and implementation becomes ever less certain and evident than previously. One further concern of such developments is that teachers are at risk of making and/or supporting illusory knowledge claims, rather than evaluating the aims and content of curriculum in slightly more detached and critical ways.

Conclusion

One of the anticipated bugbears for many readers of academic research is that writers often end up by concluding that further research is required. I can only apologise in advance to readers left disappointed that I am about to do the very same thing. However, as Sperka argues in this special issue, outsourcing is here to stay. And, as is vividly evident in the Enright, Hogan and Rossi paper, when schools now have McDonald's as 'our business partner', is it any wonder that further conceptual and empirical research on what exactly this might mean for health work in schools is necessary. In this regard, in terms of research being insightful and possibly predictive in terms of generalizability and transferability, it appears that researchers would be helping matters a great deal if they researched in schools which are as close to the norm as possible in terms of funding, size and social demographics but which also covered as necessary the diversity of school contexts and types e.g. in terms of ability, faith, gender and curriculum specialism. This for understandable reasons has not always been the case in this special issue.

Yet even if this happens, I still have some general concerns about the extent to which health and related fields in educational research are capable of showing sufficient academic boldness in future years. For if I had anticipated the contemporary academic in education policy, global neoliberalism and curriculum enactment who was most likely to have been cited by most authors in the special issue, I would have predicted Stephen Ball. And, if I had considered in advance which sociologist with a particular interest in education was most likely to have conceptually underpinned the research project, I would have predicted Basil Bernstein. Both predictions would have been correct. There is of course nothing misguided in referencing the work of Ball for situating a general commentary of performativity, professionalism and privatisation in schools. Furthermore, I share Beck and Young's (2005, p. 184) view that Bernstein highlighted in his later work 'the increasing dominance of marketization and state regulation of both knowledge production and pedagogical transmission' in ways which make his analytical writings relevant for education. That said there is inevitably the need to continually consider how much further these familiar reference points can benefit research on privatisation reforms and health work in schools. Certainly to avoid saturation there remains a need for authors choosing these known reference points to justify in detail why basing their theoretical perspectives around these authors work was chosen and why they consider that this approach has the potential to produce ever more illuminating findings. As I have been critical of the cosiness practice issues associated with some of the privatisation reforms reviewed in this special issue it is clearly unhelpful if related academic research falls foul of a similar problem.

More pressingly however, as Enright and Kirk highlight in their paper, expertise is now informed by a much wider set of knowledges and practices than is often acknowledged. As such, Enright and Kirk call 'for a reconceptualization of expertise in education in ways that recognise its personal, relational and material nature'. I share this view and argue that the call for a more expansive and possibly wider engagement with social and economic theory is needed when considering health work in schools. In this light, buoyed by Sperka & Enright (2019b) writings on students as customers of neo-health and physical education, and in the spirit of 'the end of the beginning' stage the field of privatisation reforms and health work in schools is currently at, it may be that further predictive-driven progress can be enhanced by engaging with developments such as Nussbaum's (2011) capabilities approach. This approach contains a broad interdisciplinary focus on health and wellbeing as well as highlighting differences between substantive freedoms (capabilities) and outcomes achieved (functionings). Moreover, Nussbaum (2011) criticises the focus on marketable skills which many national school systems now focus on as it reduces opportunities for the development of critical thinking and engagement with the humanities, promotion of social justice and creating diverse capabilities for all students. Nussbaum (2011, pp. 33-34) defines ten central capabilities which political and policy stakeholders should ensure are available for all citizens in order for lives to be considered minimally just. These in modified form are:

1	<i>Life</i> . Being able to live to the end of human life of normal length...
2	<i>Bodily Health</i> . Being able to have good health...to be adequately nourished ...
3	<i>Bodily Integrity</i> . Being able to move freely from place to place; to be secure against violent assault ...
4	<i>Senses, imagination, and thought</i> . Being able to use the senses to imagine, think and reason – and to do these things in a truly human way, a way informed by an adequate education ...
5	<i>Emotions</i> . Being able to have attachments to things and people outside ourselves; to love those who love and care for us...to experience longing, gratitude and justified anger.
6	<i>Practical Reason</i> . Being able to form a conception of the good and to engage in critical reflection about the planning of one's life.

7	<i>Affiliation.</i> Being able to live with and towards others, to recognize and show concern for other human beings, to engage in various forms of social interaction; to be able to imagine the situation of another...being able to be treated as a dignified being whose worth is equal to others.
8	<i>Other species.</i> Being able to live with concern for and in relation to animals, plants and the world of nature.
9	<i>Play.</i> Being able to laugh, to play, to enjoy recreational activities.
10	<i>Control over one's environment.</i> Being able to participate politically in political choices that govern one's life... Being able to work as a human being, exercising practical reason and entering into meaningful relationships of mutual recognition...

Research which focuses on the web of relationships surrounding students' views of their wellbeing relative to the ongoing privatisation reforms of health work in schools and which is theoretically underpinned by Nussbaum (2011) capabilities and functioning thinking may well prove insightful. Certainly, following Nussbaum (2011), MacAllister (2017) argues that a good education should be sensitive to students' local contexts and culture and that teachers' need to consider how curriculum content and pedagogical practices benefit the development of capabilities and functionings. Furthermore, in a professional context, Walker and Maclean (2015) have used Nussbaum's (2011) capabilities approach as the basis for constructing a professional capabilities index (PCI); an approach that is grounded in human development and capabilities literature and which focuses on the public good, especially in relation to reducing the adverse effects of poverty. The PCI is offered as a practical tool for professional educators, which is oriented towards improving public services through making agreements with key interest groups and with an ongoing evaluation of curriculum and pedagogy. Time will tell whether Nussbaum's (2011) capabilities approach or broadly similar areas of theorising are relevant to researchers with an interest in explaining and possibly predicting the future of privatisation reforms and health work in schools. What appears certain however is that schooling in many Anglophone countries is very unlikely to return to pre privatisation days - the genie is out of the bottle - and so a worthwhile consequence of reaching where research has taken us thus far - the end of the beginning stage - is to reset research goals and to creatively consider how further nuanced, diverse and insightful research which centres on privatisation reforms in education can benefit health work in schools.

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